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ACTION AF-01

INFO	LOG-00	AID-00	CA-02	CIAE-00	SMEC-00	OASY-00	DODE-00
	DOEE-00	DS-00	EUR-01	OIGO-01	FDRE-01	H-01	IMMC-01
	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-10	L-01	ADS-00	MFLO-03	M-00
	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OCS-06	OIC-02	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-00
	PRS-01	P-01	SCT-00	SP-00	SR-00	SSO-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	FMP-00	PMB-00	DSCC-00	PRM-10
	DRL-09	G-00	/053W				

-----C2444E 041647Z /38

P 041648Z MAY 95
FM AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0867
INFO AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
AMEMBASSY KIGALI
AMEMBASSY DAKAR
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KINSHASA 002649

DAKAR FOR A/S MOOSE'S PARTY; GENEVA FOR RMA

E.O. 112356: DECL: 5/4/05
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SUBJECT: ENGAGING KENGO ON RWANDAN/BURUNDIAN
REFUGEE-RELATED SECURITY ISSUES

REF: STATE 108920

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT

2. SUMMARY: CHARGE ATTEMPTED TO ENGAGE KENGO ON GREAT LAKES REGION REFUGEE AND SECURITY ISSUES DURING COURSE OF THEIR MAY 4 MEETING COVERING SEVERAL SUBJECTS. KENGO IS FRUSTRATED BY WHAT HE PERCEIVES AS RWANDAN INTRANSIGENCE AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S NONCHALENCE TOWARD ZAIRE'S REAL COSTS. THE BURUNDIAN PRIME MINISTER IS NOW SCHEDULED TO VISIT ZAIRE MAY 17 BUT THE RWANDA/ZAIRE JOINT COMMISSION TO DEAL WITH REFUGEE-RELATED ISSUES DOES NOT FUNCTION. ALL IN ALL, THIS WAS NOT A VERY REASSURING EXCHANGE. END SUMMARY

3. PRIME MINISTER KENGO ALONG WITH HIS DIPLOMATIC ADVISOR BUKETI BUKAYI RECEIVED CHARGE AT OUR REQUEST FOR A HALF HOUR MEETING MAY 4. AFTER A BRIEF DISCUSSION OF PROJECTED REPRESENTATION IN WASHINGTON AND KINSHASA, A/S MOOSE'S RECENT AFRICAN TRIP, KENGO'S OWN FUTURE TRAVEL PLANS, ANGOLA AND THE NPT (SEPTELS), WE PROCEEDED TO PROBLEMS OF THE GREAT LAKES REGION PER REFTTEL. UNFORTUNATELY WE DID NOT EXPLORE THEM IN AS MUCH DEPTH AS WOULD HAVE BEEN DESIRABLE BECAUSE KENGO HAD PEOPLE STACKED UP OUTSIDE HIS OFFICE AND BUKETI KEPT LOOKING AT

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HIS WATCH TO REMIND HIM OF OTHER COMMITMENTS.

4. KENGO WAS PLEASED THAT THE ZAIRIAN TROOPS WORKING WITH THE UNHCR WERE THUS FAR ACQUITTING THEMSELVES WELL AND THAT WE HAD NOTICED. HE RECALLED THAT AFTER REPEATED GOZ ENTREATIES SEEKING INTERNATIONAL ASSISTANCE FOR A PEACE-KEEPING FORCE, IT WAS HE WHO HAD SUGGESTED TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL THAT ZAIRIAN TROOPS BE SECONDED FOR THE DUTY AND THE UNHCR HAD PICKED UP ON IT. THIS LED INTO MILDLY PLAINTIVE OBSERVATIONS THAT THE INTERNATIONAL

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COMMUNITY HAD NOT FULFILLED ITS (UNSPECIFIED) OBLIGATIONS TO THE REFUGEE-RECEIVING COUNTRIES, SPECIFICALLY ZAIRE WHICH HAD RECEIVED THE LARGEST NUMBER. MY SYMPATHETIC EXPRESSIONS OF UNDERSTANDING FOR THE BURDEN WERE ACKNOWLEDGED AND KENGO WAS TOO SMOOTH TO POSE THE QUESTIONS OTHER MEMBERS OF HIS GOVERNMENT REGULARLY DO, NAMELY, "WHO IS GOING TO HELP REIMBURSE AND RECONSTRUCT ZAIRE" FOR THE DAMAGES INFLICTED BY THE REFUGEES? KENGO DID REMARK THAT OPERATION TOUQUOISE WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE WITHOUT ZAIRE FACILITATION, BUT THERE HAD NOT EVEN BEEN ANY COMPENSATION FROM THE FRENCH FOR THAT COOPERATIVE ENDEAVOR.

5. MOREOVER, KENGO CONTINUED, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SEEMED OVERLY TOLERANT OF THE NEW KIGALI REGIME. IT WAS BLOCKING FOOD TO REFUGEES IN ZAIRE ON THE PRETEXT THAT PERPETRATORS OF GENOCIDE SHOULD NOT BE FED, BUT CLEARLY MOST OF THE REFUGEES WERE NOT GUILTY. I TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO INFORM KENGO OF A/S MOOSE'S ATTEMPTS IN KIGALI LAST WEEK TO HAVE THE BORDERS RE-OPENED TO FOOD TRANSPORT. KENGO THEN WENT ON TO SAY HE WAS CONVINCED

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THAT THE RPF WAS PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR THE "KILLING OF FIVE TO EIGHT THOUSAND" REFUGEES AT KIBEHO. I LET HIM KNOW IN GENERAL TERMS OF THE A/S'S FRANK CONVERSATIONS IN KIGALI ON THIS SUBJECT TOO.

6. KENGO THEN MUSED THAT BIZIMUNGU AND TWAGIRAMUNGU WERE "HOSTAGES" OF KAGAME WHO HOLDS ALL REAL POWER. HE QUICKLY SUGGESTED THAT KAGAME MAY IN FACT BE AMONG THE MODERATES IN THE RPF, HIMSELF "HOSTAGE TO HIS OWN GENERAL STAFF" WITH WHOM HE FOUGHT AND CAME TO POWER. IT WAS FRIGHTENINGLY SIMILAR, HE SAID, TO THE SPLIT BETWEEN MODERATES AND EXTREMISTS IN HABYARIMANA'S ADMINISTRATION WHICH HAD LED, KENGO WAS FULLY CONVINCED, TO THE EXTREMISTS HAVING KILLED THE LATE PRESIDENT.

7. KENGO WAS CATEGORICAL IN DENYING ANY ARMS FLOW THROUGH GOMA OR BUKAVU AIRPORTS, NEITHER PICKING UP ON NOR REJECTING OUT OF HAND THE POSSIBILITY OF AN OAU MONITORING PRESENCE. HE DID NOT DENY, HOWEVER, THAT ARMS

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MAY BE GETTING TO THE REFUGEES--REFERRING TO THE
AVENUES", IMPLYING SPECIFICALLY, THROUGH TANZANIA. WHEN
ASKED ABOUT THE EX-FAR ARMS, KENGO RESPONDED BY SAYING
THEY WERE BEING STORED IN DISPERSED SECURE AREAS. "WHO,"
HE ASKED, "WOULD WE TURN THEM OVER TO?" SINCE THE GOR

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 KINSHASA 002649

DAKAR FOR A/S MOOSE'S PARTY; GENEVA FOR RMA

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TAGS: PREF, PREL, PGOV, CG RW

SUBJECT: ENGAGING KENGO ON RWANDAN/BURUNDIAN
REFUGEE-RELATED SECURITY ISSUES

HAS NOT RESPONDED TO ANY REQUESTS FOR MEETINGS OF THE
JOINT COMMISSION TO RESOLVE THESE ISSUES.

8. WITH REGARD TO RELOCATION OF THE REFUGEE CAMPS
FURTHER FROM THE BORDER, KENGO SAID THE ISSUE WAS
"DEPASSE"--NO LONGER AN OPTION. ZAIRE HAD PROPOSED IT
FOR SEVERAL MONTHS; THE UN (AMBASSADOR KHAN) HAD STUDIED
IT; THE UN HAD REJECTED IT. NOW THE ZAIRIAN POPULACE
WOULD NO LONGER ACCEPT TO HAVE RWANDANS RESETTLED AMONGST
THEM. IN THE PARLIAMENT, WHERE THE RECENT COMMISSION
STUDY ON REFUGEES IN THE KIVUS HAD JUST BEEN DEBATED, HE
WAS BEING CRITICIZED FOR NOT DOING WHAT NEEDED TO BE DONE
TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM. THE ONLY SOLUTION WAS FOR THE
RWANDAN REFUGEES TO BE REPATRIATED. THE ONLY WAY THAT
WOULD HAPPEN WOULD BE BY INCREASED INTERNATIONAL PRESSURE
ON THE RPF REGIME INCLUDING THE CREATION OF SECURITY ZONES
ON RWANDAN TERRITORY FOR THE RETURNEES.

9. WHILE WE DID NOT HAVE TIME TO GET VERY FAR INTO THE
BURUNDI IMPLICATIONS OF THE REFUGEE/HUTU HARDLINER
PROBLEM, KENGO REITERATED HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT NYANGOMA
WAS IN KENYA. BUKETI INTERJECTED THAT PRIME MINISTER
NDUWAY IS NOW DUE IN KINSHASA MAY 17. KENGO CALLED
ATTENTION TO THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS REAFFIRMATION LAST

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ON ZAIRIAN TERRITORY AND THAT PERSONS WHO SOUGHT ASYLUM
WOULD NOT BE PERMITTED TO ABUSE THEIR PRIVILEGES.

10. WHO RUNS RWANDA POLICY: KENGO CLAIMS THAT HE AS
PRIME MINISTER RATHER THAN PRESIDENT MOBUTU HAS THE
PRIMARY INITIATIVE FOR POLICY TOWARD RWANDA. MOBUTU, HE
SAID, ONLY MAINTAINED INTEREST AS LONG AS THERE EXISTED A
POSSIBILITY OF IMPROVING HIS INTERNATIONAL IMAGE. IN
FACT, OF LATE, THE PRESIDENT WAS MUCH MORE INTENT ON
BEING SEEN AS HAVING PLAYED A SUPPORTIVE ROLE IN ANGOLA.
OF COURSE, KENGO QUICKLY ADDED CANDIDLY "IT MUST BE
UNDERSTOOD" THAT ANY ZAIRIAN ARMED FORCES IMPLICATION IN
THE RWANDA PROBLEM HAD TO HAVE MOBUTU'S CONSENT. FOR THE
REST OF IT, KENGO SAID, HE AND HIS MINISTERS (COMMENT:
WHICH IT IS IMPORTANT TO REMEMBER INCLUDE THE ARDENT
MOBUTIST MAVUA AS MINISTER OF DEFENSE) MAKE POLICY FIRST
AND BRING THE PRESIDENT ALONG LATER.

11. COMMENT: WITH MOBUTU'S NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR
NGBANDA HAVING JUST BEEN IN KIGALI AND BUJUMBURA, AND
WITH INCREASINGLY PERSISTENT RUMORS HERE THAT ZAIRIAN
ARMED FORCES MAY HAVE CONDUCTED A SMALL RETALIATORY RAID
ON RWANDA FOR THE MORTAR ROUNDS THAT FELL ON OR NEAR
NORTH KIVU CAMPS LAST WEEK, KENGO'S CLAIMS OF
PRE-EMINENCE ON FORMULATING POLICY VIS-A-VIS RWANDA MAY
SOUND SLIGHTLY TOO FACILE.

12. AS THE TIME DID NOT REALLY PERMIT EXPLORATION IN
DEPTH OF OF ALL REFTTEL TALKING POINTS, WE HAVE MADE
ARRANGEMENTS WITH KENGO TO FOLLOW UP WITH HIS DIPLOMATIC
COUNSELOR BUKETI, WHOM WE HAVE FOUND TO BE A QUICK

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RELIABLE CHANNEL TO THE PRIME MINISTER. FINALLY WE NOTE
THAT A NEW RWANDAN AMBASSADOR, PRESENTED LETTERS SIGNED
BY BIZIMUNGU TO MOBUTU IN GBADOLITE YESTERDAY. ONE CAN
ONLY HOPE THIS WILL IMPROVE CONSPICUOUSLY LACKING
COMMUNICATION.
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